

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00
EUR-12 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00
NSC-05 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 /083 W
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O P 211255Z MAY 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2151
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0252

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: NEED FOR NATO PUBLICATION GIVING NATIONAL
FORCE TOTALS

REF: (A) NATO 3707, (B) MBFR VIENNA 0231, (C) MBFR VIENNA 0235,
(D) MBFR VIENNA 0219

1. FOR REAONS STATED IN MBFR 231, DELEGATION CONSIDERS
IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT NATO AGREE TO ISSUE AN UNCLASSIFIED
DATA PUBLICATION CONTAINING DATA ON FORCES IN THE
REDUCTION AREA IN SIMPLIFIED PRESS RELEASE FORM SUCH AS THE
ONE WE HAVE PROPOSED IN MBFR 0219.
2. AS MATTERS NOW STAND, THE FRG RECOGNIZES THE
CENTRAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS OF PURSUING THE
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DATA DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST, DOES NOT WISH TO TABLE
NATIONAL TOTALS DIRECTLY, BUT IS APPARENTLY NOW WILLING TO
SUPPLY THE SAME INFORMATION LESS DIRECTLY. FOR REASONS OF
ALLIANCE COHESION, THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES ARE LIKELY
TO ADOPT THE FRG VIEW. THE ISSUE WHICH REMAINS OPEN IS
HOW TO ARTICULATE THE FRG CONCEPT SO THAT IT HAS THE
BEST CHANCES OF ACCEPTANCE BY THE EAST. THIS ISSUE IS A

CENTRAL ONE AND NOT MERELY A QUESTION OF MARGINAL TACTICAL PREFERENCE. EASTERN REJECTION OF THE FRG CONCEPT WOULD PLACE THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES IN A POSITION WHERE THEY WILL HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN ABANDONING SERIOUS EFFORTS TO PURSUE THE PRESENT WESTERN NEGOTIATING CONCEPT AND CONFRONTATION WITH THE FRG OVER TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS.

3. IN OUR ESTIMATE, IT IS NEARLY CERTAIN THAT THE EAST WILL REJECT THE FRG PROPOSAL INITIALLY. IN OFFERING TO EXCHANGE NATIONAL TOTALS, THE EAST HAS OFFERED TO TABLE EIGHT NEW ITEMS OF DATA, THE TOTALS FOR GROUND AND FOR AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH OF THE FOUR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. TO BE FORMULATED AS A BUSINESSLIKE CONCEPT FOR IDENTIFYING THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY, THE FRG UNIT DISAGGREGATION CONCEPT WILL HAVE TO REQUIRE THE EAST TO TABLE APPROXIMATELY 28 DATA ITEMS (BASED ON ALTERNATIVE 2, MBFR VIENNA 0235) IN PLACE OF THE EIGHT DATA ITEMS WHICH THE EAST HAS OFFERED. GIVEN EASTERN SENSITIVITIES ON THE SUBJECT OF DATA EXCHANGE, THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY THE INITIAL EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE FRG PROPOSAL WILL BE TO RESIST IT AND TO DEMAND TABLING OF NATIONAL TOTALS AS THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP BEFORE THE FRG PROPOSAL IS CONSIDERED.

4. THE ALLIES WILL HAVE TO BREAK THROUGH THIS EASTERN RESISTANCE AND THEY WILL NEED ALL THE HELP THEY CAN GET IN TERMS OF STEPS WHICH MAKE THE GERMAN CONCEPT MORE CONVINCING OR WHICH UNDERMINE EASTERN RESISTANCE.

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5. A NATO PUBLICATION WILL SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE THE CHANCES OF A TIMELY CHANGE IN THE INITIAL EASTERN RESPONSE. IT WILL ENABLE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO ARGUE THAT WESTERN NATIONAL TOTALS ARE IN FACT AVAILABLE AND THAT IT IS THE EAST THAT IS BLOCKING THE NEGOTIATIONS BY FRUSTRATING THE DATA DISCUSSION. DROPPING THE PUBLICATION SCHEME WOULD DEPRIVE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS OF THIS KEY ARGUMENT.

6. AS TO THE FORM OF UNCLASSIFIED PUBLICATION, A STRONG EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DISSUADE THE FRG FROM INCLUDING THE FIRST SECTION AND THE AFSOUTH TOTALS OF THE SECOND SECTION DESCRIBED IN PARA 3 OF REFTEL. THE FRENCH HAVE ALREADY INDICATED THEY WILL RESIST INCLUSION OF THEIR FIGURES. MOREOVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT TURKEY WILL NOT ALLOW INCLUSION OF ITS FIGURES SINCE IT DOES NOT EVEN PERMIT ITS ALLIES TO VIEW THIS DATA IN ITS DPQ ANSWERS. IN STEAD OF THE BROAD FRG APPROACH WHICH ENTAILS UNNECESSARY PROBLEMS, WE URGE THE USE OF A SIMPLIFIED PRESS RELEASE ON THE LINES OF THE TEXT WE HAVE SUBMITTED.

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FROM US REP MBFR

7. AS TO UK CONCERN THAT THE EAST WOULD IN THE EVENT OF
PUBLICATION ASK WHY THE WEST CAN PUBLISH NATIONAL DATA BUT NOT
TABLE IT, THIS BASIC PROBLEM IS ALREADY PRESENT IN THE FRG
ALTERNATIVE. NAMELY, WHY CAN THE WEST TABLE DATA WHICH ADDS
UP TO NATIONAL TOTALS, BUT NOT BE ABLE TO TABLE
NATIONAL TOTALS AS SUCH?

8. PRESENTATION OF THE GERMAN CONCEPT TO THE EAST WILL
UNAVOIDABLY ELICIT A DISPUTE WITH THE EAST. IF THERE HAS BEEN
AN UNCLASSIFIED PUBLICATION WHICH CONTAINS WESTERN NATIONAL
TOTALS, THE WEST WILL BE IN A POSITION TO SHIFT THE FOCUS
OF THE DISPUTE AWAY FROM THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL TOTALS AND
TO PLACE IT ON THE ISSUE THAT THE EAST IS WITHHOLDING
THE NEXT RELEVANT STEP IN DATA DISAGGREGATION
NECESSARY TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY
BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT FORCES.

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WITH SUCH A POSITION, THE WEST WILL BE ON THE OFFENSIVE
AND THE CHANCES THAT THE EAST CAN IN THE LONG RUN BE
BROUGHT TO ACCEPT THE GERMAN CONCEPT ARE FAIRLY GOOD.
WITHOUT A NTO PUBLICATION, THE LONG-RANGE OUTCOME IS
UNCERTAIN. THE ONLY THING WHICH IS THEN CERTAIN IS THAT THE
ENSUING EAST/WEST CONTROVERSY WILL FOCUS ON THE PROS AND CONS
OF TABLING NATIONAL TOTALS, THAT IT WILL BE LENGTHY, AND THAT
IT PROBABLY WILL BECOME PUBLIC. RESOR

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